Occupational Distribution of Pahouin Emigrants in Douala

	Laborers	Artisans	Intellectual Occupations	Traders and Licensed Dealers
	Percent	Percent	Percent	Percent
Beti	37	55	1.9	6
Boulou		60	40	

A study of Dolisie, Baronga, and Poto-Poto makes it possible to establish similar facts for occupations (2). /39/

2. According to J. Guilbot, Petite étude sur la main-d'oeuvre à Douala /A Brief Study of Manpower at Douala/, I.F.A.N. /Institut Français d'Afrique Noir/, the Cameroons, 1947.

The proportion among them of persons who have education is about 40 percent and, what is even more important, that of the well-educated is relatively high.

Poto-Poto: Cultural Level of "Coastal Forest Dwellers"

Illiterates	Educated	Holders of the C.E.P.*	Holders of the "Brevet"
610	390	111	56

/*Certificat d'etudes primaires, certificate of primary education./

After spending some time in town, some emigrants return to their native villages, thus diminishing the separation between the two places. The bush folk, in turn, often come to the urban centers (1) and in

1. A set of figures gives the exact number of these trips: in 480 budgets relative to a total of 2,600 persons, 1,116 trips were listed (J. Binet, op. cit., p. 112).

861 initiations and now catechism bring all the boys and girls of a village together.

854 Adult surveillance is casual: grown people mainly want /95/ children to know their place and not to be a nuisance. Otherwise, it is mostly the older children who take care of the younger ones.

c. Adolescence

882 854 Boys and girls share their mother's hut until the beginning of adolescence, at which age the boys go to live by themselves, formerly in the "guardhouse," aba, nowadays in a hut on the paternal "allotment." Formerly, girls were sometimes married off before birth and [584] went to the husband's village at about eight years of age; this is very unusual today, but it is still fairly common for them to go at that age to a paternal or maternal aunt or to a married sister, where they act more or less as servants until puberty, being trained meanwhile. It is also quite common for boys to go to live with a relative whose [87] house is nearer a school than is their own village (1).

1. But a motive of proximity to school is not a complete explanation, merely an additional reason for leaving. In fact, a study of urban centers equipped with [574] schools of a good level shows that 30 percent of the children live outside the paternal household with uncles or grandparents. Whatever a father's personal view, he could never refuse his son to relatives expressing a wish to have the boy for some time. (J. B.)

881 304 869 The bongô /children/ become ndôman, a youth, or ngon, a girl, at the onset of puberty. The transition is marked by circumcision among boys, atyi'i atyel, in the past sometimes followed by the first initiation, bekungu. Circumcision is done between the ages of six and twelve, usually around ten. Nowadays it is often done at a dispensary, while it formerly was the occasion of a family and village ceremony. Subjects for circumcision prepared for the ceremony with a relatively short seclusion (of a fortnight) during which they were

6:Alexandre and Binet--170 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

623 If we set up an index of electoral power based on the percentage
43 in councils and the percentage in the total population, we come to
871 the conclusion that office-holders are very much on top (70). Chiefs
come next (17), then trade employees (3), and traders (1.4). Distribution in terms of educational level confirms the influence of educated people /intellectuels/ that could be guessed at from the occupational table. /134/

Distribution by Educational Level

623
871

	Municipal Councilors	Adult Male Population of Nyong and Sanaga Region
	Percent	Percent
Illiterate	10	75
Literate in local language	9	?
Literate in French	60	17
Holders of the C.E.P. *	10	8 (1)
Holders of higher diplomas	2.4	0.3
Worthless figures **	8	--

1. The regional statistics give "primary completed," not "C.E.P."; the nuance may mean a great deal. A survey of the urban population of Ebolowa gives a lower rate: 6.4 percent of certificate-holders.

/*Certificat d'études primaires, certificate of primary education./

/**Ambiguous: Fiches inutilisables may refer to the quality of the statistics or to the use of meaningless initials after an individual's name. --Tr./

The tremendous influence of holders of higher diplomas is obvious, so that uneducated people are almost eliminated, although they are still numerous.

Thus this new élite crystallizing out of the municipal elections appears to be made up of men who are both traditionalist and modern.

6:Alexandre and Binet--171 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

The men who compose it, older men, rich, practicing old-fashioned polygamy, have had an academic training. We must not be deceived —in this country there is no real gulf between office-holders and chiefs.

Thus municipal councils can allow an elite class to rise to the surface and assume responsibilities.

2. The Pahouin and the Future

Shaped by their history, the Pahouin owe to it their positive qualities and their defects.

From having been conquerors, or more accurately, from having been successful in establishing themselves in new lands, they have retained a certain pride and self-confidence. Without being violently xenophobic, they preserve toward foreigners a friendly but the least bit contemptuous attitude, such is their feeling of superiority.

They had the good fortune to have been exposed very early to Christianity and to schools, at least in the Cameroons. Because they are intelligent—tests given to school pupils in the Cameroons show that the Boulou come out on top, along with the Bamoun—they have provided the administration and trade with a large part of their personnel and, when they emigrate, they do not join the unskilled labor force but provide specialized personnel, often salaried workers. This indicates the power of the Pahouin.

Finally, thanks to cacao, they have acquired a certain amount of wealth and live in some degree of comfort. This indicates their basic role in the economy. It also indicates their influence upon local finance. In the Cameroons as in Gabon, the Pahouin country is a rich area, whose exports and imports supply a significant portion of the economy. /135/ The Pahouin, therefore, play an essential role in the life of these territories, and they are able to obtain superior services for their region. There are already many roads, schools, and dispensaries.

But their traditional lack of organization impedes them in certain occupations. They despise trade and are only moderately successful in it, because their natural anarchy does not dispose them toward taking advantage of partnership or of market organization. The absence of urban centers is even more of an obstacle: the town is a new phenomenon, where immigrants are numerous and have been able to create stable situations for themselves, since there were no precedents.